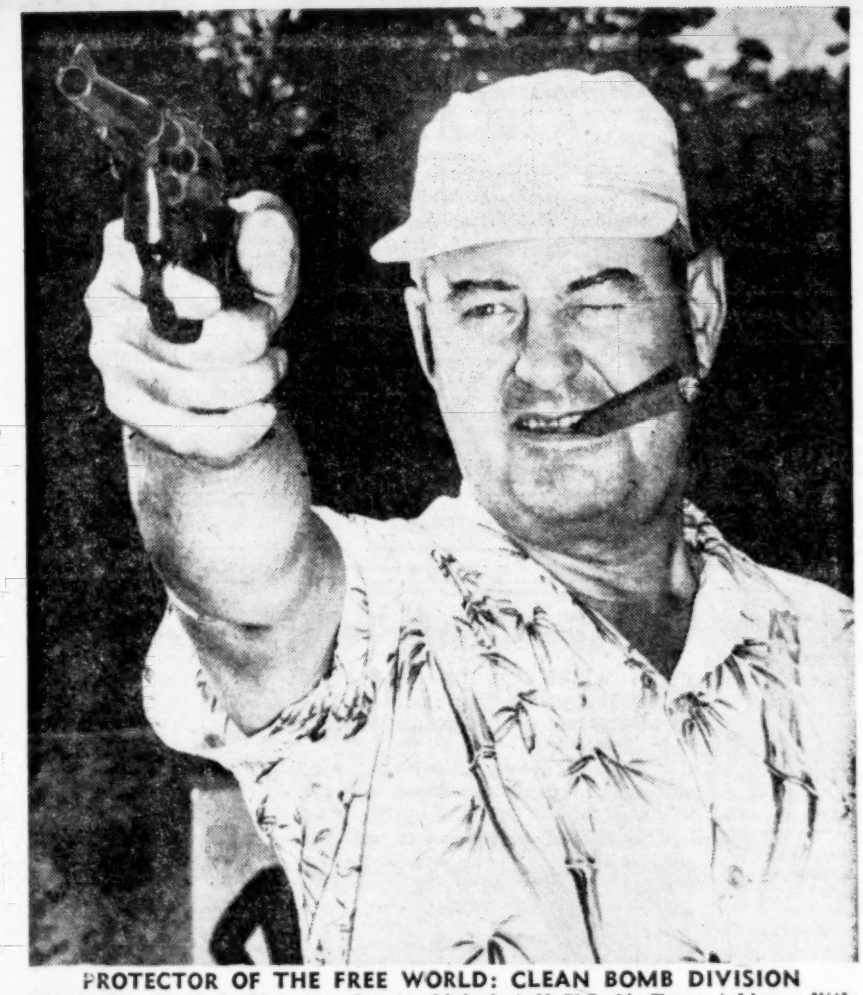
NATIONAL GUARDIAN
10 cents
the progressive newsweekly
Vol. 9, No. 38 NEW YORK, N. Y., JULY 8, 1957



PROTECTOR OF THE FREE WORLD: CLEAN BOMB DIVISION
This is Gen. Curtis Le May, new deputy chief of staff, U.S. Air Force, taking a little "recreation" on the FBI pistol range at Quantico, Va. Doesn't he inspire confidence in the American Way?

STASSEN ON DULLES' LEASH

U.S. ties up disarmament talks in a package job

By Kumar Goshal

THE LONDON DISARMAMENT talks slowed down to a snail's pace as U.S. delegate Harold Stassen, under new instructions from Washington, began dribbling out an elaborate, complicated U.S. package program.

Bypassing the direct Soviet proposal for a trial ban on nuclear weapons tests pending further disarmament negotiations, Stassen began to deliver on the installment plan proposals for reducing big-power armed forces and non-nuclear weapons.

On June 20 he told the conference the U.S. would be willing to reduce its total military manpower, within a year after agreement, to a level of 2,500,000, if the Soviet Union would cut its forces to the same level. Under "improved political conditions," he said, the U.S. would consider reducing its forces to 1,700,000.

IF ADENAUER SAYS OK: Since Stassen used the phrase "improved political conditions" instead of the previous "solution of political problems," correspondents hailed this as a sign of relaxation of the hitherto rigid U.S. position linking German reunification to any disarmament agreement.

But on June 25 he was reported (N.Y. **Times**, 6/26) to have "firmly tied [U.S.] proposals for a reduction in the armed forces to a reunification of Germany that would satisfy West Germany." West Germany means Chancellor Adenauer; the opposition Social Democratic Party has long been willing to discuss with East Germany reunification and neutralization.

The **Times** itself pointed out that, since Adenauer adamantly refuses to consult with East Germany, diplomatic sources believed the situation represented "a deadlock on the primary European political issue." More significantly, the same sources considered German reunification "an issue that is outside the competence of the [disarmament] subcommittee" now meeting in London.

AT A SNAIL'S PACE: On June 26 Stas-

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J. EDGAR GIVES THE WORD

Congress axe-men in rush to nullify High Court rulings

By Lawrence Emery

FOR THE WILD MEN of the Right—in and out of Congress—the floodgates of communism were wide open last week and the Republic was about to collapse because of recent decisions by the Supreme Court. Even the President himself was caught up in the stampede and on June 27 there was an official White House announcement that the Administration would back legislation to close "loopholes" opened by the Court's rulings.

Behind the frenzy was a small hint of political blackmail: the N.Y. **Times** reported that "the FBI director, J. Edgar Hoover, is understood to have passed the word that his agency will drop out of

some espionage and other criminal cases if this becomes necessary to protect its confidential informants."

A FALSE CHARGE: Most immediate flurry for legislative action to countermand or nullify the Court's ruling in the Jencks case was based on a false charge that that decision opens up all FBI files for indiscriminate rummaging by all kinds of "crooks and communists." But the decision was very carefully worded on that point and said simply that if the FBI puts informers on the witness stand, then it must make available to the defense only those informers' reports and statements "touching the events and activities as to which they testified at the trial." The Court specified, however, that the defense and not the trial judge should determine what in such reports was relevant to its case.

Several bills designed to get around this provision were hastily introduced, with Administration backing, and committee hearings on them were under way in both Houses by June 28, with Atty. Gen. Brownell the first witness on the Senate side. Part of the haste was caused by fears of proponents of the legislation that an impending Senate filibuster against a civil rights bill might bar any action during this session.

After hearing Brownell, a Senate Judiciary subcommittee unanimously approved a bill under which the defense could see only those portions of FBI records held to be relevant by the trial judge. Brownell said the Supreme Court ruling as it stands has brought "a grave emergency in law enforcement." The bill was rushed before the full Senate Judiciary Committee July 1, and was approved unanimously. In the House a Judiciary subcommittee approved a much tougher bill sponsored by Rep. Francis E. Walter (D-Pa.). Among the sponsors of the Senate bill were two liberal Democrats, Joseph C. O'Mahoney (Wyo.) and Estes Kefauver (Tenn.).

BLUNTED WEAPONS: Although attacks on the Supreme Court are nothing new, the intemperance of the present criticism is unusual. Actually, the Court propounded no new doctrines and overturned no laws, but restated some basic and traditional propositions which, until the Tru-

(Continued on Page 6)

MURRAY SAYS THERE AIN'T NO SUCH ATOMAL

AEC member debunks the 'clean' Bomb

THOMAS E. MURRAY, "retiring" member of the Atomic Energy Commission whom President Eisenhower refused to re-appoint, last week punctured the Administration's atomic policy. He said that the fallout of multi-megaton (million-ton) nuclear explosions was "uncontrolable" and that the facts showed no substance to the premise of AEC Chairman Lewis I. Strauss that he would soon produce a bomb that was big, "clean" and all but filter-tipped.

Strauss had just introduced three scientists to President Eisenhower, who seemed impressed with their testimony that if allowed to continue nuclear testing they would soon have a nuclear bomb as free of fallout as TNT. The three scientists, Drs. Edward Teller, Ernest O. Lawrence and Mark M. Mills, have long been associated with AEC researches. Many other scientists at the recent hearings on radiation by the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy denied that a "clean" bomb was possible.

UNSUPPORTED BELIEF: Murray in his final report as a commissioner to the Joint Committee said: ". . .the impression has been created that widespread hazard from fallout is not a necessary complement to the employment of large bombs today . . . This belief is not supported by the facts."

More than a year ago Murray proposed that the U.S. discontinue testing or developing super-bombs — unilaterally if necessary. Strauss bitterly opposed him. In last week's report Murray said: "My knowledge of the destructive capacity of several thousand megatons leads me to assert that the explosion of more than this amount would make no military or moral sense." He repeated statements made earlier in magazine articles that "an all-out nuclear 'war of survival' is inherently absurd."

Murray's thesis was that the atomic

(Continued on Page 6)

Herblock in Washington Post

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Death of a scientist

PT. EVANS, WASH.

The death of a scientist, William Sherwood, devoted to cancer research, points up tragically one of the hideous paradoxes of our time. Even as we are assured on all sides that cancer is one of our greatest enemies, we drive to despair and death a man devoted to ending the scourge. While we deplore the scarcity of scientists and teachers, we torment the best of them.

Let no one who has not been confronted with the necessity of answering a subpena from some investigating committee—of being photographed, interrogated, televised, slandered—let no one dare to assert blithely, "He should not have committed suicide." If you haven't endured it, you don't know.

Nor can we be satisfied to say the pendulum is swinging, we'll now come back to tolerance and sanity again. All of us who have survived the ordeal by committee, have, I think, a double duty not only to continue, insofar as we may, in our own professions, our own tasks, but to analyze the causes of the national paralysis (to name it charitably) which in the first instance tolerates these abuses. We must try to secure understanding everywhere of the causes. A way must be found to end the inquisitions and prevent a recurrence.

One thing many of us can do, as I have, is to collect a few people for study, book review and discussion, as a benefit to the GUARDIAN and other organs of enlightenment. The beginning is the half of all.

Jean Schuddakopf

Question of competence

NO. HOLLYWOOD, CALIF.

Re the mud-slinging at Dr. Linus Pauling by President Eisenhower, in which the latter "noticed that scientists out of their own field of competence are getting into the argument [on nuclear weapons testing]": is it true that administrators of great nations who were former war heroes bent on death and destruction are incompetent except on the field of war?

Linus speaks for the people (**Vox Populi, Vox Dei**). For whom does Ike speak? **I Like Linus**

On Mao's theses

NEW YORK, N.Y.

There has appeared in the press recently a spate of articles on Mao's ideological differences with the Russian leaders. Sydney Gruson in a lead article in the N.Y. **Times** (June 14) has gone even further and contended that on the question of the dying out of class struggle under socialism, and the existence of contradictions (although not necessarily antagonisms) under socialism, Mao has revised Marxism.

The thesis of sharpening class struggle under socialism was not propounded by Marx but by Stalin. Either Stalin's thesis was an error, or it correctly reflected specifically Russian conditions. In neither case, consequently, can Mao's conception be considered "revisionist."

The existence of contradictions under socialism is implicit in Marx's dialectical world outlook. It was specifically affirmed by Lenin in his marginal notes to Bukharin's book, **The Economics of the Transition Period** and was reaffirmed by Stalin in his **Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR** If Khrushchev seems to waver on this point, so much the worse for Khrushchev.

Is it too much to hope that the old and respected newspaper which publishes "All the News That's Fit to Print" will in the future assign persons who are technically competent to reportage on matters of Marxist ideology? **Alfred Evenitsky**

About Gil Green

CHICAGO, ILL.

It is now six years that my husban Gil Green has been separated from his family by the Smith Act prosecution. A sentence of seven years still remains to be served.

The fact is that my husband was sent to prison because he held certain political ideas, because he desired a world of peace and brotherhood, and tried to make it a reality, according to his understanding of history and society. Two justices of the Supreme Court felt that the conviction of my husband and his colleagues was a "serious violation of Constitutional rights. One of them, Justice Hugo Black, said:

"Public opinion being what it is, few will protest the conviction of these Communist petitioners. There is hope, however, that in calmer times, when present pressures, passions and fears subside, this or some later court will restore the First Amendment liberties to the high preferred place where they belong in a free society."

The original indictment against my husband was returned nine years ago, on July 20, 1948. His long trial and appeal to the higher courts took place during the Korean war. Today, in the words of Justice Black, the "pressures, passions, and fears" arising from that war, and the cold war which followed it, are subsiding.

The President of the United States has the power to grant amnesty now to my husband. Won't you write the President a letter today in my behalf . . . please, and send a copy to me?

Lillian Green,
P. O. Box 5270
Chicago 80, Ill.

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

Sir Frank Medlicott asked what was the British estimate of the cost of the damage done to Egyptian property [in the 1956 Suez intervention] . . . "It has been stated in the **Times** that a reliable estimate . . . is 400,000 pounds."

Mr. Ormsby-Gore: "I do not know on what grounds the Honorable member says the figure he mentioned is a reliable figure . . . He should also consider what would have been the cost of the Egyptians if we had not intervened."

London **Times**, 6/27

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: C. B., London, England.

Private Post Office

NEW YORK, N.Y.

The sensational news that President Eisenhower favors turning over the Post Office Dept. to a private company, in line with his Administration's policy of giving natural resources and tax favors to big business, went almost unnoticed in the news of his June 12 breakfast for 40 Republican Congressmen.

The first newscasts quoted him something like this: "Sometimes I wish we could contract the mail delivery to a private company. Then if service was bad we could fire the company." But this was dropped in later broadcasts. Next day the N.Y. **Times** gave it less space than it gave to what the President ate. No wonder the stock market reached new highs June 12 and 13 after its billion dollar dip at first news of the bellyache. Here was a real shot in the arm for business.

Under the Post Office load of having to subsidize railroads and airlines, mail service has been degenerating for many years, but faster under the present Administration. As if by design, the public may already be so thoroughly disgusted that any change would be welcomed, even private ownership.

If so, it will be a costly lesson to the public, but a fantastic windfall to some magnates. Since private ownership would hardly continue rail and air subsidies, new taxes would be required, along with the new subsidy to the new owners of mail service. **Frank Rodolf**

Encore!

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Because the GUARDIAN has always been such an effective means of advertising for the Jewish Young Folksingers, we would like to express our thanks to the over a thousand people who attended our New York concert on June 15, as well as to those who were not able to get in. You demonstrated to us once again that our group has made friends for itself and its music over the past seven years.

Executive Committee
Jewish Young Folksingers

N. Y. Herald Tribune

"Foreign aid? You couldn't have picked a worse time to bring up the subject."

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly

Published weekly by Weekly Guardian Associates, Inc., 197 E. 4th St., N.Y. 9, N.Y. Telephone: ORegon 3-3800

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: U. S. & possessions, Canada, Latin America, Philippine Islands, $3 a year. First class and air mail on request. United Kingdom one guinea a year payable to GUARDIAN London Bureau, 10 Talbot Sq., London W2, England; otherwise $4 a year overseas. GUARDIAN Paris Bureau, 103, avenue de Gravelle, St. Maurice (Seine), France. Single copies 10c. Re-entered as second class matter Feb. 20, 1953, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

CEDRIC BELFRAGE, *Editor-in-Exile* — JOHN T. McMANUS, *General Manager* — JAMES ARONSON, *Editor*

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Vol. 9 — No. 38 401 July 8, 1957

REPORT TO READERS

Moscow dateline

IT IS WITH CONSIDERABLE PRIDE and pleasure that the GUARDIAN this week publishes its first article by Wilfred Burchett, who has been accredited as the GUARDIAN's correspondent in Moscow.

Wilfred Burchett's career reads something like a storybook version of a foreign correspondent, with this difference: there is no fiction either in the details of his life or the content of his stories.

An Australian, the son of a Methodist minister, he began his working career as a carpenter, with no thought of writing. After a time he shipped out in 1937, got stranded in Tahiti, made his way to London, worked as a tourist agent there and went to night school to learn languages.

WILFRED BURCHETT

As a travel agent he worked with the underground in Hitler Germany, smuggling Jews out and finally got out himself with the Gestapo hot on his tail. He broke into journalism with articles on Germany. Australian newspapers sent him to New Caledonia to report on Japanese activities there, and then sent him through Indonesia, Malaya and Burma into Chungking.

He signed on as London **Express** correspondent as the war with Japan broke, covered the Burma campaign and then walked through the jungle to India. He covered the war in the Pacific in 1943 and went into Japan with the first U.S. Marine landing. He was the first Western reporter in Hiroshima after the first A-bomb was exploded.

AFTER THE WAR he went to Europe, again for British newspapers, and wrote about "free world" fakery in Berlin and Greece, among other places. He finally quit the capitalist press when the London **Times** in 1950 suppressed his stories from Budapest.

Since 1950 he has covered China and the end of the Korean war (he was a main source of information for begrudging Western reporters at the Panmunjom truce talks), the "dirty war" in Indo-China, and the Summit conference in Geneva and the Bandung conference—these latter for the London **Daily Worker.**

In between he found time to write a play and such books as **China's Feet Unbound, Cold War in Germany, Koje Unscreened** and **North of the 17th Parallel.** Cedric Belfrage, who caught up with him last summer at the meeting of the Intl. Journalists in Helsinki, described him as "the picture of a man with nothing to do except enjoy being alive."

Burchett has just reached Moscow after six years in South-East Asia, with Hanoi as his home base. With him in Moscow are his Bulgarian wife and two small children, brought up in Hanoi. In the article on p. 3, and the two that will follow, Burchett describes his trip from Vietnam to the U.S.S.R. and the job of settling himself and his family in Moscow.

SUMMERTIME IS TRAVEL TIME for GUARDIAN correspondents. As you have been reading, Tabitha Petran has been in Egypt taking a new look since she was there during the invasion of last October. She is at present in Syria for a survey of that key nation in the Middle East tinder box, and will be going elsewhere too.

Ursula Wassermann, who has covered Israel, Argentina, Italy, Rumania and Hungary for the GUARDIAN, has just reached Poland and we'll be hearing from her frank typewriter from that fascinating country soon too.

Last we heard from Belfrage, by the way, was that he was soon to take a well-deserved short holiday in France with Mrs. Dr. Belfrage, and from that point we may have some exciting news about his peregrinations. Wish we could announce his imminent arrival at Pier 52, North River, New York, but that would be premature. However, in the light of the Supreme Court's decision about a man's right to a fair day in court unencumbered by the twisting tales of a stool-pigeon, don't think we're not looking into it.

—THE GUARDIAN

P.S. One more note about Burchett: Maybe he started out in night school in London, but he now makes his way in 16 languages.

A DECISION REVERSED

Court orders Melish removed as rector; appeal to be filed

IN THEIR long battle to retain the services of the Rev. William Howard Melish, parishioners of Brooklyn's Church of the Holy Trinity on June 24 suffered what they called a temporary setback.

On that day the Appellate Division of the State Supreme Court in Brooklyn, in a 4-1 decision, held that Mr. Melish should be removed and that the Rev. Dr. Herman S. Sidener had been legally named by the Holy Trinity's vestry and installed as rector early in 1956.

The majority opinion held that, "contrary to rule in English courts," U.S. courts in controversies involving ecclesiastical matters considered as binding and final the decisions of "church judicatories." In a concurring decision Presiding Justice Gerald Nolan said that the State law governing such ecclesiastical cases had been fulfilled because a majority of the vestry had been present when Dr. Sidener was named rector. Dissenting Justice George J. Beldock held that no quorum of the vestry, as required by the law, had been present when Dr. Sidener was named rector.

Holy Trinity has a vestry of 11—two wardens and nine vestrymen. When Dr. Sidener was elected to the post in 1956, two wardens and four vestrymen were present, three pro-Melish vestrymen were absent and two posts were vacant. However, although six of the 11 members were present, there was no quorum according to Sec. 42 of the Religious Corporations Law. This law defines a quorum as either one warden and one more than a majority of the vestrymen, or two wardens and a majority of the vestrymen.

It was on the basis of this law that the Appellate Division on April 26, 1956,

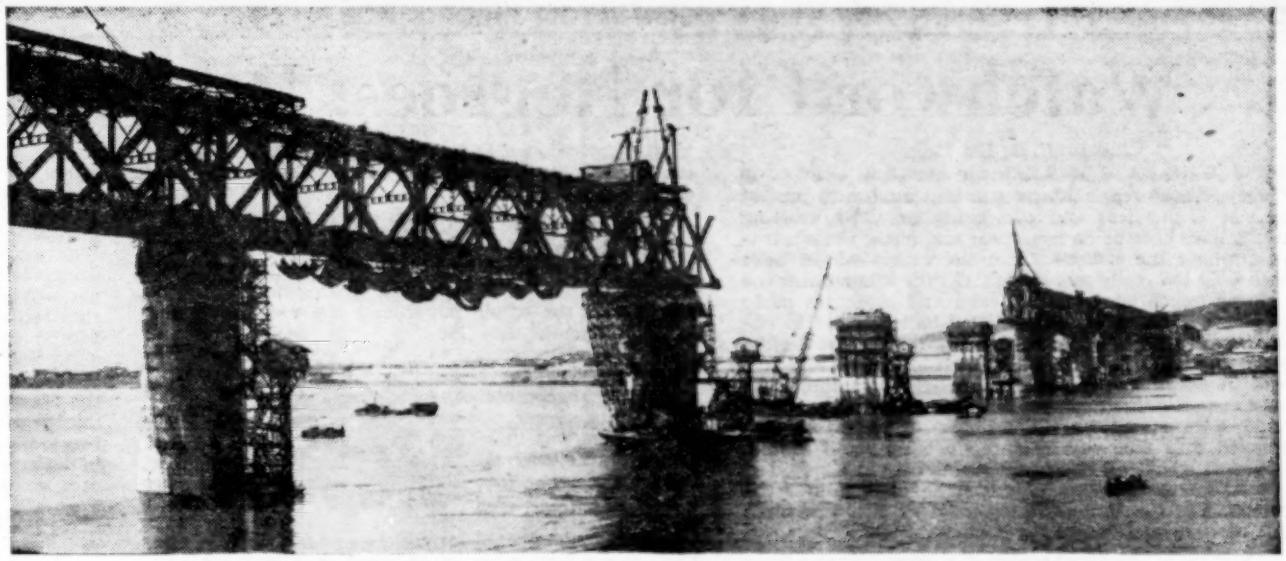
REV. WM. HOWARD MELISH
His congregation wants him

unanimously upheld a lower court ruling denying an appeal by the anti-Melish vestrymen for a temporary injunction restraining Mr. Melish from conducting services in the church. They appointed a former colleague, John MacCrate, as referee to review the whole case.

On Sept. 18, 1956, MacCrate decided in favor of Mr. Melish. In the present decision, the Appellate Division reversed its own ruling.

Vestrymen elected since February, 1956, have been staunch supporters of Mr. Melish. At a hastily called parishioners' meeting on June 25, an overwhelming majority showed up and unanimously voted to support Mr. Melish. They expressed "the unanimous desire of the vestry and congregation that there be as little disruption of the life of the parish as possible until a final decision has been obtained . . . and the issue of the rectorship is settled."

"Since we have the right to appeal to the Court of Appeals, the highest court of New York," Mr. Melish said after the Appellate Division granted him a stay, "we shall do so promptly, confident of vindication."



NOW THE GAP HAS BEEN CLOSED IN THIS BRIDGE CROSSING THE YANGTSE RIVER
China is linked north and south by this giant span with eight foundation piers.

EN ROUTE WITH BURCHETT TO MOSCOW

Hanoi to Peking to Irkutsk

By Wilfred Burchett
Special to the Guardian
(First of a series)

MOSCOW, U.S.S.R.

BENEATH THE WINGS of the Ilyushin airliner, the ribbon of the Red River quickly dwindled to a carelessly flung dark thread. The mosaic of green and gold paddyfields shrunk into a deformed chessboard. Within minutes of leaving Hanoi, we were over somber mountains which were the unchallengable bases of the Vietminh leaders throughout their national liberation struggle.

This was the first step of a long voyage which would take me away from the Far East which had been my home for the past six years. For a good part of those six years a "brink of war" diplomacy had kept the Far East as a foyer of war which could blaze from one day to the next into the Third World War.

Fifty minutes after leaving Hanoi, we were putting down at Nanning, well inside the Chinese frontier and capital of Kwangsi province. From Nanning another eight hours to Peking, coming in low over the new bridge across the Yangtse for a refuelling stop at Hangkow. There was only a small gap between the opposing sides of the bridge and a few weeks after we flew over, that gap was closed. For over 20 years the Kuomintang leaders had talked of building such a bridge. Without it China is divided—north and south of the Yangtse. All north-south traffic had to be ferried across the river. The Kuomintang government and others before it had brought in foreign specialists—but the cost of imported steel and imported technicians to put it together put the scheme out of bounds. Now, after less than eight years of people's power, the bridge is there, built of Chinese steel and put together by Chinese technicians. The mightiest bridge in Asia, it will be opened in a few months.

WALLS COME DOWN: Rice fields hemmed in by bald mountains gave way to rolling fields of cotton, barley and wheat after we crossed the Yangtse. One could almost see the development of cooperatives from the air as we travelled north. The crazy patchwork quilts became orderly sheets and blankets as boundaries were swept away and fields arranged for more rational cultivation.

A similar straightening-out process had been going on in Peking in the six months since our last visit. Dwindling walls between tiny shops selling the same sorts of goods had been knocked down to make large, modern stores. Most of them are managed and staffed by their former owners, but they are now joint state-private enterprises. Apart from the enormous importance of this peaceful transformation to socialism, the shopping streets now look much more attractive. Knocking down the dividing walls was taken as a good opportunity to put in modern shop fronts and give the new stores a coat of paint, usually the sealing-wax red so popular in China. Repairs and paint were financed out of the state contribution to the new partnership. Patch-work streets are disappearing all over China, just like the patch-work fields.

BLOOMING FLOWERS: Peking was alive with rumors of what Chairman Mao had said in his speeches at the State Council and to party propaganda workers. He had spoken from notes and the speech had not yet been published, but enough had come out, in a series of **Peoples Daily** editorials based on the speeches, to know that they were contributions to the progressive movement throughout the world, and especially to countries engaged in building socialism. I found all my Chinese friends enormously pleased about developments, especially the democratic and creative spirit of the discussions which had started at every level since Chairman Mao's report

There was an unprecedented question-and-answer press conference at the Central Committee of the Communist Party to which all foreign correspondents were invited. Chou Yang, the assistant chief of propaganda in the Central Committee, set out the main points of Chairman Mao's new thesis of "contradictions within the ranks of the people," of how they should be kept distinct from contradictions between the people and the enemy, and the different methods to be used for solving them. The famous policy of "let all flowers blossom and different schools of thought contend" was a means of bringing to the surface and providing an outlet for the various contradictions among the people. It also provided for a new flowering of the arts and sciences.

Party workers and government staffs had been used to solving contradictions between the people and the enemy; to dealing with outside aggressors, feudal landlords and Kuomintang capitalists. Tough methods had to be used. But this phase was ended and it would be very wrong to use similar methods in solving contradictions among the people. For the latter, discussion, persuasion and education must be used. Therefore the campaign had been launched to correct working methods. It would be directed against sectarianism, subjectivism and bureaucracy. All party officials, from the top down, would have to study and correct their methods.

ON TO IRKUTSK. We skimmed over the placid lake of the Summer Palace on a glorious mid-May morning and beneath us lay two Pekings: the old walled city as it existed at the time of liberation and the huge new city which has grown up outside and which, from the air, looks almost as big as the old. We headed northwest and were soon over ancient, bald and cratered mountains which resemble photographs of the moon's surface. The Great Wall snaked its way along the highest contours of razor-sharp ridges. After almost four hours' flight we made a series of near-corkscrew turns, to drop down between rolling grass-covered mountains into the bowl which is Ulan Bator, capital of the Peoples Republic of Mongolia.

A line of shaggy camels glanced up haughtily as we zoomed down on to the grass strip but dismissed us with a swish of their tails. After Ulan Bator, more wild mountains with snow in the valleys and snow-capped ranges in the distance. Within two hours there was the silvery sheen of Lake Baikal below us and we came down over thickly-wooded mountains, turning into the airfield of Irkutsk over an enormous hydro-electric project where the waters of the Angara are being trapped as they surge out of Baikal.

The tropics of Vietnam seemed very far away as we stepped out of the plane to be greeted by an icy Siberian blast. The children, who have never known—or at least no longer remember—cold, wondered from where came the pain that hurt their faces and hands. But in a few seconds we were in a cozy Intourist office sipping hot tea with slices of lemon in it, awaiting the formalities. Irkutsk is the entry point into the Soviet Union for all travellers coming from China.

NEXT WEEK: Across the U.S.S.R.

On the care and feeding of the 'clean' Bomb

FRANCIS M. STEPHENSON of The N.Y. **Daily News**—Mr. President, is there any possibility that Russia may learn how to make these clean bombs, and do we have any assurance they would use them on us? [Laughter.]

MR. EISENHOWER—You know, I don't know of any better question, because I asked it myself. This is, I would say this: I would hope that they would learn how to use clean bombs and would use them for the simple reason that then at least we make them specific weapons instead of weapons of general and uncontrolled destruction.

[Later, James C. Hagerty, White House press secretary, asked that this portion of the transcript be revised as follows: "I would hope that they (the Russians) would learn how to use clean bombs, and if they ever used atomic bombs, would use clean ones—for the simple reason that then at least the bombs used would be specific weapons instead of weapons of general and uncontrolled destruction."]

—Rrom the President's press conference, June 26.

DU BOIS ON THE MEANING OF THE WASHINGTON PILGRIMAGE

Watchword for Negroes: Register and vote!

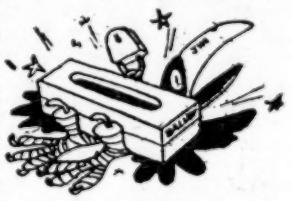
By W. E. B. Du Bois

IT WAS NO EASY MATTER for American Negroes to bring 27,000 representatives to Washington to protest against lawlessness and discrimination. The meeting might have become an hysterical and bitter demonstration, which the police—if not the army—would have been only too ready to suppress. On the other hand the meeting might have been so calm and moderate as to be meaningless. This the paid Red-baiters tried to ensure. The result lay between these extremes. The feeling of tremendous self-repression pulsed in the air and was held in check by long-imposed religious custom. The music and the shouting were not there in a throng which could have sung like the thunder of cataracts and groaned with memories that few peoples could match. It was wise that all this emotion was held in check, but it passes understanding how, on the other hand, the President of the United States could sit silent through this meeting and "never say a mumblin' word!"

But these pilgrims expressed themselves, not only in thousands of personal and group conferences, but in some clear words of the speakers. The clearest advice to the persons present were: "Register and Vote!" If to those present and listening this advice meant nothing more than it has since 1876, it had little significance. But it must have meant more; it had to mean more.

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE as a mass have little faith in voting. It is seldom that more than half of the eligible voters go to the polls. Few voters expect or try to better conditions, secure more equitable laws or higher type of officials by elections. A letter to a congressman may help, if he ever sees it; but a ballot? Who trusts it, whether it is cast for the Republican or Democratic party, or for a "Third Party" which "endorses" either?

But the advice at the Washington Pilgrimage to register and vote touched a new note. It did not refer to the great parties. Every person who listened knew that right there in Washington, looking on and listening in, lay the whole power and the vast machinery of government. The Republicans cannot return to power without the Negro vote; the Democrats cannot assume power without it. Congress was in session and over the way sat the Supreme Court. Was the Pilgrimage appealing to these repositories of power? No. These folk were thinking of Montgomery, Ala., where recently a boycott of house servants and low-paid laborers was able to rid them partially of petty discrimination in their transportation to work, based on race and color.



The boycott did not keep a good many of them from losing their jobs; from lower wages; from illegal arrest and, above all, from the deliberate refusal of officials to stop mob violence or even attempted murder against black folk and their leaders. These leaders in Washington told them to register and vote in Montgomery, and in a thousand counties, cities and towns in Mississippi, Louisiana, Georgia, Florida and South Carolina, where local government has sunk to bribery, cheating, mob violence and anarchy under local dictators like "Senator" Eastland, chairman of the Senate Committee on the "Judiciary."

IF THE PILGRIMS and their people will follow this advice, and if the U. S. government will make democratic government—which it recommends to Hungary—possible in the rural South, the government of that section of the U. S. will be revolutionized. That is why the white South and its new industry will never allow eligible Negroes this right to vote, if they can help it. That is why President Eisenhower's advice to the States to assume more power of taxation and administration will never be implemented so long as the two great parties can rule the nation from Washington in defiance of democratic procedures. If the people take back control of local government, freedom and democracy will rule the nation as they once did until the Slave Power seized control of the Federal Government.

Of course, for the localities and their voters to seize and hold government, they must be free to vote; they must know the facts as to laws, officials and elections; they must have the whole undergrowth of rank weed and noisome swamp cleaned from the local governments of the southern South. There must be public schools run by each community; there must be a free local press and lecturers from all over the land and the world to teach Mississippi what civilization is and may be.

And then must come Social Reform; and it can start right in the Negro Church where the boycott started.

IT'S IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

How Negroes are prevented from voting in the South

By Eugene Gordon

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER addressed the 49th annual Governors Conference in Virginia on June 24. The governors of Virginia, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, S. Carolina, Tennessee and Texas applauded the Chief Executive's axiom that "man's rightful aspirations" cannot forever be "cruelly repressed by despotism." Anyone familiar with the ways of the South would have been confounded by the applause: Alabama's legislature, for instance, had just gerrymandered Tuskegee's city limits to exclude Tuskegee Institute and 400 Negro voters, while 2,000 Negroes, spurred on by their "rightful aspirations," were organizing a fight-back against Alabama despotism.

It was clear that the governors were applauding the President's hope for the "rightful aspirations" of Eastern Europeans "cruelly oppressed" by "the Soviet machine."

THE RECORD SHOWS: The President did not cite either cruelly oppressed Negroes or the Dixiecrat machine, but evidence at hand proves the existence of both. Most striking evidence is that read into the June 10 **Congressional Record** by Sen. Paul Douglas (D-Ill.) in debate on the proposed jury trial amendment to civil rights legislation. Sen. Douglas' facts—from a memo prepared by the Southern Regional Council—prove that such "despotic power" as Mr. Eisenhower lamented in Albania is exercised unchecked in Alabama. For example:

Not one of the 429 potential Negro voters in Blount County, Ala., is registered. Six of 5,425 are registered in Bullock County; none in Clay, out of a potential of 1,010. The 1950 census listed 516,245 Negro men and women over 21 and entitled to vote: "but the number of Negroes registered was 53,336, or 10.3%."

CREATING "APATHY": Is it apathy that keeps registration down? Alabama's Macon County, seat of Tuskegee, demonstrated how "apathy" can be created. Tuskegee Civic Assn. president C.G. Gomillion described it this way to an "aroused, hymn-singing crowd of 2,500" potential Negro voters (N.Y. Post, 6/26):

"We have been thwarted when we have tried to register ourselves to vote. There are 2,900 white voters in the county and 1,000 Negro registered voters. We have to hunt to find a board of registrars in their hiding places."

The local board, inoperative "for months," recently resumed meetings but continued to turn away Negroes. "Thus," the Douglas report noted, "the vote ratio remains the same—the whites outvote the Negroes in Macon County 3 to 1, although Negroes outnumber whites in total population by 6 to 1."

BUBBLES IN A BAR: Sen. Douglas cited a Mississippi method of creating "apathy": The applicant is asked to write and copy, "in the space below, section——of the constitution of Mississippi." The registrar is instructed to "designate the section of the constitution and point out the same to the applicant." Instruction 19 is that the applicant must write "a reasonable interpretation—the meaning—of the section of the constitution of Mississippi which you have just copied." Sen. Douglas illustrated the impossibility of satisfying the registrar:

"In one county Negroes were asked to state what kind of government we lived under. One Negro replied, 'A democratic form of government.' That was declared to be unsatisfactory. Then he said, 'A republican form of government.' That was declared to be unsatisfactory. The voter was ruled out . . . There have been charges, very well supported in one case, that the applicant was asked to state how many bubbles could be created from a bar of soap."

DOWN TO THE BOTTOM: The Senator showed that though Arkansas had 410,342 Negroes over 21, only 67,851 (16.5%) "of those who would be expected to be eligible" were registered. Georgia had registered 25% of her 633,697 potential Negro voters.

Sen. Douglas listed the states in order of the number of voters per 100 persons of voting age. Idaho was at the top, with 77.3% of those eligible actually voting.

The Southern states fell to the very bottom: Georgia was 45th, with 30.4% of her voters of voting age—18 years—actually casting ballots. Alabama was 46th, with 28.5%; S. Carolina 47th, with 24.6%; Mississippi last, with 22.1%.

THE ATMOSPHERE IS TENSE AS NEGROES VOTE IN MISSISSIPPI
On Sen. Eastland's home grounds only 22.1% of all those eligible vote.

TRIAL BY JURY: Sen. Douglas showed how the jury-trial amendment, "when coupled with the existing denial of the right to vote," would affect millions. First, they are denied the ballot. Then a civil rights bill is passed to protect that right. But an amendment provides jury trials for those who denied that right. Since Negroes are excluded from jury lists "because these lists are composed, by law in five states and by practice in many others, of those who are on the voting lists," the juries would consist predominantly of those whom the defendant had allowed to vote while excluding those who had been denied that right. The jurors in turn "would find it very difficult to exercise their fair judgment in civil-rights cases."

On "rightful aspirations," the Negroes of Tuskegee respectfully noted for the President's attention:

"We Negroes landed at Jamestown. This . . . is our land. We have been indispensable in building this country. We feel bad when we see how the Hungarian refugees are wined, dined, banqueted, cheered and honored with our tax money and we Negro citizens have been disfranchised and bombed."

Foreign Born group barred from public fund raising

A NEW YORK Supreme Court judge last week affirmed a ruling that the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born is a "charitable" organization, but denied a request of the N. Y. State Attorney General for a permanent injunction against the organization and appointment of a receiver to initiate liquidation proceedings. The Attorney General had sought such an injunction to short-circuit legal proceedings now pending in the appellate courts contesting an order that the ACPFB register as a charitable organization under a 1954 law aimed at charity rackets.

Last week's decision rejected the Attorney General's contention that the ACPFB was guilty of fraud, but concurred in an earlier decision declaring its legal defense work "charitable." The ACPFB was therefore enjoined from public solicitation of funds pending further litigation. This bars the ACPFB's annual summer appeal. The injunction proceeding had already barred fund-raising at the Committee's annual festival and picnic June 23 at Camp Midvale, attended by more than 600 persons.

The Committee may receive and use voluntary contributions. It has a new address and telephone number: 49 E. 21 St., New York 10; tel. OR. 4-5058.

Disarmament talks

(Continued from Page 1)

sen proposed a complicated plan to reduce the weapons strength of the great powers. This called for the U.S., the U.S.S.R., Britain and France to hand over lists of weapons to the disarmament subcommittee.

Once the lists—which would not include nuclear bombs and warheads—were agreed upon, Stassen said, arms named in them would be placed in disarmament depots in the respective countries under the supervision of an international inspectorate and a control board responsible to the UN Security Council. A year later, disposal of these weapons would begin: some weapons, such as aircraft, would be converted to peaceful uses; others would be destroyed.

After listening to Stassen for several days, Soviet delegate Valerian A. Zorin asked if the U.S. could not speed up its presentation. Zorin said Moscow could not give a considered judgment until it had a complete picture of Washington's program. Stassen replied he would need several more days.

THE TWO CAMPS: It was clear that Stassen's initiative had been hobbled, that the Eisenhower Administration, after the initial surprise of the June 15 Soviet proposal for a temporary suspension of nuclear weapons tests monitored by international inspection teams, had decided to stall for time and continue the tests.

The June 15 Soviet proposal split

De Groene, Amsterdam

Washington opinion. According to Stewart Alsop (N.Y. **Herald Tribune**, 6/28), Soviet experts, including former ambassador to Moscow Charles Bohlen, believed the Soviets were sincere; that monitoring would be relatively simple; that suspension of tests would leave the U.S. with more bombs of greater power than the Soviet Union and "would provide the 'first step' of which the President has so often talked." They advised acceptance of the Soviet offer.

THE BOMB-HAPPY BOYS: "But a powerful group within the Administration," Alsop said, "led by AEC Chairman Lewis Strauss and Adm. Arthur Radford, violently opposed any test suspension on any terms." **Newsweek** (7/1) said that Radford and virtually the whole military establishment "feel the U.S. should keep punching away at the Russians until they are hanging on the ropes," that Vice President Nixon and Secy. of State Dulles also opposed acceptance of the Soviet proposal. It noted that Dulles "forbade his aides to correct reports that Stassen has been reprimanded" when he returned to Washington for instructions.

The President seems to have vacillated between the two points of view. On June 5 he put forward rigid conditions which practically ruled out halting bomb tests. On June 19, following the Soviet proposal, he said his earlier remarks would not rule out suspension of tests.

IN-BETWEEN IKE: He promised "honest and sympathetic study" of the Soviet proposal, said he would be "perfectly delighted to make some satisfactory arrangement for a temporary suspension of tests while we could determine whether we would allow it to be a permanent arrangement." Asked if the ban must be part of a package deal, the President replied that the suspension "would not

Le Droit de Vivre, Paris

"Oh, Sam, those would have given dear Adolph such pleasure!"

necessarily be part of the whole program."

Walter Lippmann observed (N.Y. **Herald Tribune**, 6/27) that Stassen had returned to London with a "thin and weak and tentative" mandate, and that the opposition "is likely to continue to be very formidable indeed."

FOSTER TAKES OVER: On June 25 Dulles "clarified" the President's June 19 remarks by tying suspension of nuclear weapons tests to a number of conditions. He gave the impression that "he did not expect an early agreement" at London (**Times**, 6/26).

On June 26 Mr. Eisenhower had shifted again. He said suspension of tests would hamper progress on developing a "clean" bomb and on further explorations of the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. He did not explain how bomb tests were related to peaceful use. The President insisted that we must "keep that force and that power that keeps the war from happening." (The London **Times** two years ago described the hydrogen bomb as "the greatest deterrent to peace.")

A LONG WAY OFF: The net effect of the President's words, the N.Y. **Times** said (6/27), "was to leave the impression that an international agreement on this whole subject was perhaps much further away than was previously believed." Stewart Alsop was more emphatic: "It is clear there will almost certainly be no mutual agreement with the Soviets to suspend nuclear weapons tests. Bar a miracle."

But "miracles" sometimes happen, if public pressure is strong enough. Supporting suspension of tests without a package deal, the Washington **Post** said editorially (6/27): "It would, at least for the time it remained in force, arrest the poisoning of the earth's atmosphere from radiation fallout . . . And it would provide a tentative first step in the direction of disarmament."

It is obvious, however, that much remains to be done to build up effective public opinion in the U.S. if mankind is to be spared further dangers from radiation or the worse danger of a nuclear war.

DENATURALIZATION CASE

New trial sought for UE's Matles

FIRST FOREIGN-BORN case to be affected by recent Supreme Court decisions was the denaturalization of Rumanian-born James Matles, director of organization of the United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers (UE).

Matles was denaturalized early this year on testimony of three paid government witnesses. Defense demands for the original reports of these witnesses to the FBI were refused by the trial judge. In the Jencks decision the Supreme Court ordered a new trial for Clinton Jencks because he had been denied access to original reports to the FBI of paid witnesses against him.

On May 17, following the Jencks decision, Matles' counsel demanded a new trial. Last week the government agreed with the defense that the verdict of denaturalization should be set aside, but opposed a new trial in favor of re-opening the original proceeding.

The judge reserved decision on which course would be followed.

DE GAULLE IN THE WINGS

Is new French Premier a straw man for Mollet?

By Anne Bauer
Special to the Guardian

PARIS

IT WOULD NOT be quite exact to say that France's shift from Premier Mollet to Bourgès-Maunoury—with several important cabinet members going from the first to the second—is a change in name only. Not only does the Bourgès-Maunoury cabinet open a still more willing ear to the Right, but the rare dissenting voices of the Left fringe of the previous administration have been cut off from the present one. A few declined an invitation to participate, one because Rene Lacoste was being maintained as Resident Minister in Algeria.

As a matter of fact, opposition to Lacoste and his Algerian failures came from many sides. Some of the big business "ultras" in Algeria itself started worrying when the Melouza massacres (see GUARDIAN, June 17) were followed by an Algiers pogrom. Trouble of that calibre cannot be conducive to business prosperity. When Lacoste was sounded out about leaving his post, he said that if he were made to leave Algeria, the local population might no longer be able to contain its anger.

Lacoste and Bourgès-Maunoury, in the center of the new government, symbolize its two most clear-cut objectives: (1) more pacification á la Lacoste in Algeria; (2) speedy ratification of the European Market and Euratom treaties.

YOUNG MAN IN A HURRY: Lacoste's actions in Algeria this year have been matched by Bourgès-Maunoury's in Paris. The new Prime Minister, at 42 one of the youngest names in French public life, entered politics after a remarkable Resistance record. In 10 years he has held ministerial portfolios in 11 widely different governments.

He resigned from the Mendès-France government after the rejection of the European Army project in 1954. His views on the rightness of Algerian pacification caused him, as Mollet's Defense Minister, always to excuse the "exceptional" excesses. The arrest of Claude Bourdet of **France Observateur**, the legal action brought against Servan Schreiber of **Express**, and numerous other such steps, bear his signature. He also played a big part in organizing the Suez campaign.

Bourgès-Maunoury's latest move had definite fascistic overtones. He has asked the Assembly for special powers to arrest

Liberation, Paris

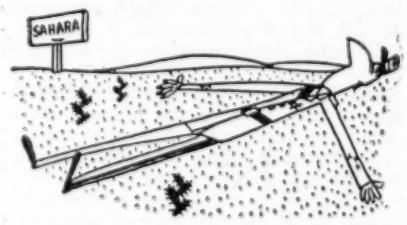
"Come what may, we shall always keep one foot in Algeria and if there remains but one, I, Lacoste, shall be he."

and detain "all persons born in Algeria, irrespective of their present place of residence." If passed, this law would not only apply to the 400,000 Algerians now living in France, but also theoretically to such eminent persons as Albert Camus and Marshal Juin, who were born in Oran and Constantine.

THE STRING-PULLER: An increasing number of people in France are calling for negotiated settlement. Newspapers in England and in Western Germany are openly suggesting that the negotiations be internationally sponsored. Despite this, the situation in Algeria—more savage repression followed by more cruel terrorism—is drawing close to a point beyond forgiving or repair.

Behind the scenes, during the governmental crisis and its petty political bargaining, most of the strings were pulled by Guy Mollet. He placed a number of Socialist ministers in key spots in the new cabinet. He suggested Bourgès-Maunoury as Prime Minister when the President of the Republic seemed out of candidates. Then he took his party (38 deputies out of 100 wanted to vote against the new government) firmly in hand.

[On June 30, at the French Socialist Party conference, a motion to continue France's present Algerian policy won by a two-thirds majority. The vote was 2,547 to 779 for a motion urging home rule and 498 for a motion supporting Algerian independence. The increase in the minority vote from 463 a year ago only partially reflected the growing dissatisfaction with the government's policy, since many



Canard Enchaine, Paris

De Gaulle: "Ah, it's good to stretch out a little."

refrained from public criticism for fear of political consequences. The N.Y. **Times** reported that Mollet and Lacoste had to keep "the party firmly in line against growing opposition" to their policy.]

A big question arises: Has Mollet put the fragile, ill-balanced Bourgès-Maunoury cabinet, committed from the outset to a vicious circle of compromises, into place only to let it be overthrown quickly, and then return himself for a new and unlimited engagement as a prime minister?

APATHY AND CYNICISM: But there is a graver aspect to the situation. The new government was voted in in an incredible atmosphere of lassitude and irony. This discredits still further the nation's "republican institutions," as they are solemnly called. Never has the country been more indifferent and more cynical in the face of a government crisis. Never has the system of musical chairs, under which the same political pals always grab some ministerial seats in the next government, been carried to the point of such absurdity. Has the time come when France's "last card"—as some call Gen. De Gaulle—is getting ready to be played?

Publicity around De Gaulle has been discreet but persistent these last weeks. Significantly, some of it came out of North Africa. Ferhat Abbas, speaking for the FLN (Front de Libération Nationale), has recently made it known that a personality "such as Gen. de Gaulle" might be able to re-create the climate of mutual trust so necessary to the Franco-Algerian dialogue.

THE "SAVIOR": In Tunisia, the Neo-Destour weekly, **L'Action**, in a long article on De Gaulle's African views, credits the general with such liberal ideas as: "If I were the French government, I would not let independence be snatched away from me by force, I would freely grant it."

If the degradation of the regime becomes such that De Gaulle will appear as the Savior of the Fatherland, then France's "last card" may also be the first one under a system of government that will no longer be a republic.

Congress axe-men

(Continued from Page 1)

man cold war era, were taken for granted. The **Manchester Guardian**, removed from the heat of battle, commented soberly: "In none of these cases has the Court delivered a sweeping ruling affecting all other cases of the kind; the nearest it comes to this is in its warning to Congressional committees not to abuse their powers of compulsion. The cases turned on specific points of law; the weapons are blunted, not removed."

But from the President down, some of the responses here were apoplectic. Hearst reporter Ruth Montgomery, without denial from the White House, quoted a group of Gen. Eisenhower's friends as having been told by him that he has "never been as mad in my life." They described him as "virtually exploding" and had "never seen Ike as worked up over anything." She wrote: "The President reportedly said that the Court's finding made a 'shambles' of law enforcement and gave Moscow the greatest break it has had in years. He said he simply could not understand how a group of outstanding Americans could reach such a 'ridiculous' decision."

THE LOUD SCREAMS: New Hampshire's Atty. Gen. Louis C. Wyman, whose one-man investigating spree was overturned by the Court in the Sweezy case, told a conference of the Natl. Assn. of Attorneys General at Sun Valley, Ida., that the recent rulings "have set the U.S. back 25 years in its attempt to make certain that those loyal to a foreign power cannot create another Trojan horse here."

Hearst columnist George Sokolsky suggested that "maybe the United States needs an American Supreme Court." Sens. James O. Eastland (D-Miss.) and William E. Jenner (R-Ind.) declared jointly that the Court has strengthened "the trend of the past year of undermining our existing barriers against communist subversion." Columnist David Lawrence found that "by one sweeping decision the Court has opened the way to communists, traitors, disloyal citizens and crooks of all kinds . . . to refuse to answer any questions which the witness arbitrarily decides for himself are not 'pertinent' to a legislative purpose."

Chairman Walter of the Committee on Un-American Activities said:

"I want to say to the communists that we have accepted the challenge and we are going to pass the type of legislation that even the Supreme Court will understand."

MORE THAN RUSSIA: Rep. George W. Andrews (D-Ala.) said on the floor of the House: "I have said many times, and I repeat, I fear more the Supreme Court of the U.S. as presently constituted than I do Russia." Rep. James C. Davis (D-Ga.) followed him to say: "It seems that if there is one thing well settled, it is that a communist cannot lose a case in the U.S. Supreme Court." Rep. Clare Hoffman (R-Mich.) declared that the "remedy would be impeachment—on the theory that the Court is attempting to overthrow the government through fallacious reasoning, rendering decisions which make constitutional provisions void." Rep. J. Carlton Loser (D-Tenn.) called his colleagues' attention to an editorial in his home town newspaper which said: "Thank God, it is from the South that the ever-growing chorus of warnings has come against the creeping tyranny of the High Tribunal."

The last sentence is a key to understanding much of the storm now blowing through the Congress. The current revolt against the Supreme Court—and attempts to curb it—began in the 84th Congress when Southerners rose up in defiance of the 1954 decisions banning segregation in the schools. It was in March, 1956, that 101 Congressmen from 11 Southern states issued their manifesto pledging themselves "to bring about a reversal" of that decision.

70 BILLS IN 84TH: It was a month later that they picked up sizable Northern support in opposition to the Court because of its ruling in the Nelson case that invalidated sedition laws in the states.

Herblock in Washington Post
"Boy, am I burning up!"

During the 84th Congress more than 70 bills were introduced designed to curb the powers of the Court. The **Congressional Quarterly** noted in December, 1956: "But unless the Supreme Court further offends Congressional sensibilities in 1957, legislation to restrict its powers is unlikely to be enacted." Now the Court has aroused all the wild men, and the Southerners, heretofore fighting as a minority on a regional basis, have gained allies whose numbers at this moment no one can count.

On June 26 Sen. Strom Thurmond (D-S.C.) returned to the roots of opposition to the Supreme Court by introducing a double-barreled bill to restore authority to the states to enforce their own sedition laws and to limit jurisdiction of Federal courts in all cases relating to the public schools. Thurmond called the Supreme Court "power wild" and said that "judicial tyranny will destroy constitutional government just as surely as any other type of tyranny."

THE AFTERMATH: The Conference of the Natl. Assn. of Attorneys General, while rejecting Wyman's verbal attack on the Court, nevertheless adopted a resolution to countermand recent rulings by legislation in this session of Congress "to reaffirm and reactivate Federal and state internal security controls." In another resolution it called for limitation of the Court's power to declare state laws invalid as it did in the Nelson ruling.

Meanwhile the far-reaching implications of the Supreme Court's decisions were still being spelled out.

● On June 27 the case of playwright Arthur Miller, whose contempt conviction was similar to that in the Watkins case, was argued. Next day Judge Charles F. McLaughlin reversed himself on one of two counts, but upheld the other, leaving Miller's status of conviction unchanged. On the same day Judge Edward M. Curran reversed one of three counts against Dr. Otto Nathan, executor of the estate of Albert Einstein, but set Oct. 7 for hearings on two other counts. Both rulings will be appealed. In the Miller case, Judge McLaughlin held that the playwright had not raised the question of pertinency in one of two questions he refused to answer, and therefore was still guilty of contempt.

● In New York James J. Matles moved for a new trial based on the Jencks decision (see p. 5).

● In Washington attorneys for the Communist Party moved for dismissal of a Subversive Activities Control Board ruling that the Party must register; the action was based on the Court's ruling in the California Smith Act case.

● In San Francisco attorneys for seven persons convicted under the Smith Act in Hawaii took steps looking toward their eventual acquittal.

● In St. Louis, a U.S. Court of Appeals ordered a rehearing of appeals by five persons convicted in 1954 under the Smith Act.

All told, there are still 51 Smith Act defendants whose cases are now on appeal, and there are 16 others in two cases that have not yet been tried.

THE COURT INVOKED: The Senate Internal Security subcommittee, after two postponements, questioned two members of the independent American Communications Assn. under procedures it hoped would meet Supreme Court standards. Both witnesses invoked not only the First Amendment but also the Supreme Court decision in the Watkins case. They were threatened with a possible trial for contempt on the floor of the Senate itself—a rare procedure last used in the mid-Thirties.

The House Committee on Un-American Activities hinted that it might cite at least one witness for contempt during its recent San Francisco hearings as a test case. At least one Congressman had an answer for the committee's rampagings. Rep. Roy W. Wier (D-Minn.), who has voted against appropriations for the committee since his first year in Congress in 1949, said:

"I think I've got the cure for the whole controversy and that is to wipe out the committee. It assumes to be the investigator, the judge and the jury and even takes over judicial authority in the disposition of its cases. What's more, I don't like the way they are using the committee to get headlines in the districts of the men running for election."

But on June 30 House Minority leader Joseph W. Martin Jr. (Mass.) charged that the Court decisions had "crippled the investigating committees" of Congress and predicted that the situation would "probably be corrected" by legislation.

Why there'll be no letter this summer

Dear Guardian Readers:

Twice a year for the last six years you have received an appeal from the Families of Smith Act Victims. Your generous response has made it possible to provide commissary funds and reading material for the prisoners. Through you, families could be regularly re-united during the all-too-short monthly visits. Because of you, imprisoned parents, or those on trial, have been able to relax a little, knowing that their children would be out of the city during the hot summer months.

This summer you will not receive such an appeal. For the first time since 1951 there are no Smith Act trials in progress. This summer, of the 27 men and women who went to prison, all but two have been released.

These two, Henry Winston and Gil Green, have already served more than a year of five-year sentences. In addition, they are subject to three more years for "contempt." The Supreme Court has agreed to review the contempt sentences, which gives some hope that they may be reversed or at least modified. But in any case they still face long years away from their loved ones.

As matters now stand, we have enough funds on hand to cover the servicing needs of the Green and Winston families through the summer and into the fall. We know that you will be as happy as we are that we can thus curtail our activities. We also know that we can turn to you again, if and when the need arises.

We want to add a special note of thanks to the GUARDIAN, whose unstinting cooperation has helped us reach so wide a field. The GUARDIAN, we think, has made an important contribution toward achieving the "calmer times" in which the recent Supreme Court decisions affecting the Smith Act could be made.

Much has been done; there is still much to be done. Yours are among the many willing hands to see that it is done. Our deepest thanks.

Hattie Charney, Treasurer,
for the Families of the Smith Act Victims

COURT UPHOLDS STATE DEPT.

Kent and Briehl appeal passport ban

THE POWER of the State Dept. to deny passports to those who refuse to take a non-communist oath was upheld by the U.S. Court of Appeals last week and seemed slated for a Supreme Court test next term.

Artist Rockwell Kent and Los Angeles psychiatrist Walter Briehl applied for their passports in 1955 for travel in Europe in connection with their work. They refused to fill in the required questionnaire on whether they are or have ever been members of the Communist Party and their applications were consequently turned down. Lower courts affirmed the State Dept.'s right to deny the passports. The Court of Appeals by a 5-3 decision upheld those rulings.

Four of the judges concurred in a sweeping decision which held that the questionnaire was not unconstitutional, that passport officials could use confidential information in passing on applications, that those denied passports because they fell under the State Dept.'s regulations against Communists were "not illegally denied any Constitutional rights."

NO ROOM FOR CURTAINS: Circuit Judge E. Barrett Prettyman wrote the majority opinion. Judge George T. Washington thought the decision went too far but concurred with the majority. Judges Henry W. Edgerton, David L. Bazelon and Charles Fahy vigorously dissented. Judge Edgerton said that "we have temporized too long with the passport practices of the State Dept. Iron curtains have no place in a free world. I think the Secretary should be directed to issue a passport."

In a separate dissent, with which Judge Edgerton concurred, Judge Bazelon wrote that the "broad power to curtail the movements of citizens of the U.S." is vested in Congress, not in the executive branch of the government.

Rockwell Kent said he and Dr. Briehl would carry the passport issue to the Supreme Court.

The 'clean' bomb

(Continued from Page 1)

age brought risks of "limited" wars in which little nuclear weapons of kiloton (thousand-ton) size would be used. While he favored banning the big bombs, he insisted that any attempt to limit the development or testing of these kiloton weapons was "irrational disarmament." He said these would produce only a localized, easily-controlled fallout with no vast genetic consequences.

OFFICIAL IGNORANCE: No pacifist, Murray spoke of the world-wide "mandate" history had given the U.S. to "insure the blessings of liberty" everywhere and "thwart the success of the Communist mandate." He offered "limited nuclear warfare" as a way of doing this short of universal destruction.

In passing, he lambasted official ignorance of atomic matters, citing one report he issued to high military and civilian officials in which his figures were 60% inaccurate. No one who received the report caught any error.

ON PRIVATE ENTERPRISE: On peacetime uses of atomic energy Murray has repeatedly clashed with Strauss who has insisted that the new industry, however subsidized by public funds, must be left to private enterprise. In his report Murray said the full capabilities of atomic power could not be realized under "this policy of reliance solely on private capital and initiative." He paid his respects to the sacred rights of capitalism but thought that the system might be modified to allow a government program of building and exporting atomic reactors.

Though the Strauss-Murray feud is not one of war vs. peace, it is nonetheless significant and it seems likely to tear Washington apart. The failure to reappoint Murray has irritated Democrats on the Joint Congressional Committee who fear that the AEC will be packed with "Strauss stooges." The Committee has therefore appointed Murray as the consultant, a post from which he will be free to blast Strauss and debunk advertising campaigns for the big, clean bomb.

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Books and Publications

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GLENDALE, CALIF.

I have taken the GUARDIAN almost from its inception and feel I could not do without it. I also took **Today,** by Anna Louise Strong, and thus got two GUARDIANS for the last few months. I have religiously passed them on to anyone who seemed interested. Few are, I am sorry to say. Like ostriches, they don't want to see.

I shall be glad when this period of "dry rot" is over, if it ever is. Our one haven out here is the First Unitarian Church and Stephen Fritchman. Thank God for this oasis. Do keep up the good work. I marvel at the complete blindness of so many people today concerning what's going on in the world.

Myrtle H. Cannon

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For this bit of information we are indebted to Charlotte and Dyson Carter, (whose book on Soviet health, **Health & Long Life**, we quote so often) published in their $1-a-year monthly magazine, **Northern Neighbor**, (1334 Bloor West, Toronto, Can.)

IT SEEMS that Soviet physiologists have figured out that a tired person can get a lift quicker from exercise than anything else. One of the first places they tested it was at the Karl Marx Candy Factory in Kiev (making Krack-a-jacks for Komsomols, no doubt.) They instituted "phys-cult pauses" as part of the daily routine. The first is taken after 2-3 hours of work and every 2 hours thereafter. A "phys-cult" instructor leads the exercises, windows wide open, giving the body a scientific workout. After this a short walk sends the workers back to their taffy-pulling more attentive, quicker and full of pep.

AFTER MONTHS of this regimen, the cult didn't fizz at all. Instead the plant reported less sickness and occupational ailment and hundreds of workers never before interested in sports joined the food technicians' sports club.

All right, everybody. Hands on hips, place!

Relax. What are you, a caramel crusher? Well, then, the Karl Marx Kandy Kitchen routine may be exactly wrong for you. The Soviet scientists warn that only a careful scientific motion-study of your job can determine the sort of "phys-cult pause" you need to bring unused muscles into play while resting the weary ones.

SO, PUT DOWN the bar-bell and check with HIP, Blue Shield, Permanente or what have you for your best "vigorous rest" formula.

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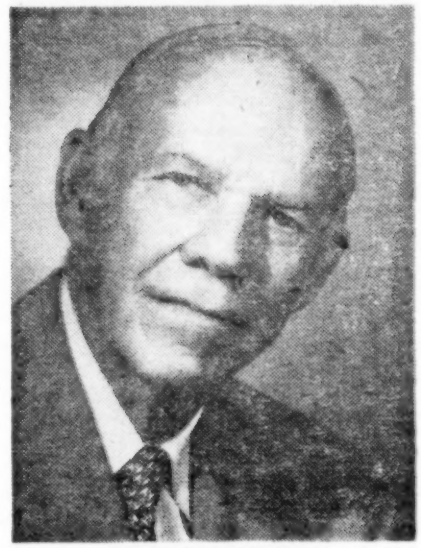
the SPECTATOR

Premeditated lives

JUST ABOUT A YEAR AGO—these muggishly hot New York days remind me—I was receiving big fat envelopes in the mail. They contained the chapters of what has since been published by Cameron Associates as **My Native Grounds,*** the autobiography of Dr. Royal W. France. He was busy then in the Foley Square courthouse in New York, defending the so-called "second-string" Communists in the Smith Act prosecutions. He would go home from court, write a chapter in longhand and send it to me. I was to make a book out of these chapters.

So I read **My Native Grounds** on the instalment plan. From first to last I was interested—and more than often surprised. In the second instalment I read about V. I. Lenin talking to a visiting United States Senator, Roy's brother, Joseph Irving France of Maryland, the first American official to go to Moscow after the revolution. On the Senator's arrival Lenin sent for him and, from that meeting in the Kremlin, a friendship developed that bears reading about after all these years.



ROYAL W. FRANCE

In the next instalment I read about "Teddy" Roosevelt and a very likeable old poseur he must have been. I laughed over the story of Mrs. Roosevelt's chiding him for using the wrong spoon for his grapefruit. He replied: "Like democracy, my dear, the spoon may be wrong but it seems to work."

Another chapter tells of an evening France spent listening to Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes. The young lawyer was not impressed. In the last few months several books have been published that have taken less than a worshipful look at the Yankee from Olympus.

THAT INDEPENDENT JUDGMENT shown in the Holmes incident begins to make itself felt early in France's book. It soon becomes the continuing thread in this account of a long life lived in the tumult of our times. Rather, it is an account of three premeditated lives, to use the publisher's words. The first span was 23 years as a corporation attorney, moving picture entrepreneur and textile mill president. The second was 23 years as professor of economics at Rollins College in Florida. The third, a career that was started in 1952, is the one that now keeps France busy round the clock—as executive director of the Natl. Lawyers Guild, counsel for the Religious Freedom Committee, member of the board of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee and a few other matters. Age: 75.

He is taking it easier now, compared with what the third career demanded of him when he first resumed the practice of law five years ago. He has had a list of clients a yard long, and the names on the petitions he sponsored would stretch much farther. These clients are men and women whose names are familiar in the headlines, in the Congressional Committee upheavals, and worse. In his book they are people of exceptional human worth.

AMONG THOSE HE DEFENDED before the New York City school Board was Lyman Bradley, a teacher whose "crime" was that he had supported the anti-Fascist committee of the 1930's, in its efforts to raise money for the Spanish Republican refugees. Another was Harry Slochower, through whom France had his first acquaintance with Congressional committee techniques. The ministers are there, too, Harry F. Ward chief among them—the ministers and the rabbis who stood staunchly forth, drawing the attack back upon themselves, but fighting on.

The lawyers are there—"Manny" Bloch fighting to the end for the Rosenbergs; Harry Sacher, Frank Donner, Leonard Boudin, Malcolm Sharp and others of that brave band who threw in their lot with the damned. They made a shield of the law and with that shield won time—time for the enormity of the crime, and of the danger, to become known.

Royal France's involvement in the life of his times was from choice. He might have lived out his days in the peace of a college campus. Instead, at 68, he uprooted his family, came back to New York and offered his services to those in need of a lawyer. It was difficult then for the accused to get lawyers; it was a risk for any who might come to their defense.

He made that choice, though, because he had to, being what he was—an American well-versed in what being an American ought to mean. The old quotations come easily to him, and one comes now to me: "Seeing, shall take heart again." Many saw this gentle, kindly advocate in the courtrooms, in the corridors of the trials and investigations; and many, seeing him, took heart again.

—Ruth Crawford

*MY NATIVE GROUNDS, by Royal W. France. Cameron Associates, 100 W. 23d St., New York 11, N.Y. 255 pp. $4.75. Liberty Book selection for July (same address); $2.37 to members.